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The Mexican Problem and The Yankee Peril

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• A QUARTERLY •

FOREWORD

To many questions there are more than two sides. That is what makes it so hard to settle them. For fair minded and well intending people get confused; they turn "every one to his own way," come out upon disagreements, perchance upon a deadlock or a hopeless indecision; nothing is done and the power of the good becomes impotent.

The Mexican question is a very vexed problem, with all its partisan, commercial and racial complications. It drags along with opposing voices clouding the issue, and blocking action. Meanwhile good people are getting badly divided and sometimes arrayed against one another.

In all the conflict of ideas, few of us understand the Mexican points of view; or perhaps ever stop to consider that there are such views. Or, we lump the Mexicans in our thought as represented by Villa, and as being altogether unworthy of consideration as to their views. Secretary Bell's article in its setting forth of the "Yankee Peril" contributes what we feel sure, will be to many of our readers a new idea. And his discussion of the missionary solution of the difficult situation deserves the sober thought of all just and generous Americans.

W. E. S.

The Mexican Problem and The Yankee Peril

BY ASSOCIATE SECRETARY ENOCH F. BELL

The American has his "Mexican Problem" and the Mexican, his "Yankee Peril."

To the average American the "Mexican Problem" is one of protecting American lives in Mexico, if not of teaching a lesson to a neighbor who seizes American soldiers and Consuls for ransom. To the big property owner, especially the oil magnate, the "Problem" is more "involved." Not to speak of his having to meet foreign competition in Mexico, there is the exceedingly irritating question of changing his entire conception of property rights under international law to conform to certain socialistic theories pushed upon him by Carranza. He has seen a "constitutional" party come into power and change in 1917 the famous constitution of 1857 to suit a nationalization program. / He learns that by the new constitution all rights to land in Mexico are declared invested in the nation; that he as a foreigner must register his oil property in such a way as virtually to acknowledge that it is not his after all, but Mexico's; and that he must pay rental, as it were, not only since May 1, 1917, when the new law was supposed to go into effect, but even before that date. This purpose, therefore, of securing his rights under international law is his "Mexican Problem."

Then there are not wanting armed intervention propagandists who urge that the "Problem" is one of "going in to clean up Mexico," and to "put her to rights." They argue that the masses somehow must be emancipated, and that a government must somehow be established which will secure safety and prosperity for all, from the poor peon up to the foreign investor.

To the missionary, the Mexican Problem is not a surface affair; it goes deep. It is more serious than bandit raids and the abuse of one country by the other; more fundamental, too, than constitutional changes in property laws. It arises from something deeper than an oil well or a copper mine. It comprehends the great question of the creation of a self-governing people in Mexico and of a self-governing sense of stability of character among the masses of Mexico. It has to do, therefore, with the very foundations of character and life as they are found in Mexico today. This Problem is one that challenges the best in us because it is so deep seated and difficult.

So no matter what our peculiar interests may be we have our "Mexican Problem" now as we have had it for seventy-five years; and it gets more and more acute.

Across the Border, on the other hand, is the fear of the "Yankee Peril." It lurks in the canyons by the power works; it is discovered on the mountains among the mines; it hides under the sage brush in the grazing country, and in the shadow of the adobe hut in the oil region where it bites the children at play; it even glides into the metropolis, into the financial and political circles there, and probably at times breathes a sinister influence

throughout the palace itself. Wherever the aggressive power of the foreigner is exerted there this fear is inspired, in spite of the naturally friendly nature of the average Mexican. It may be scotched—it often is—but it never seems to be killed. The eagle on the cactus tears it to pieces regularly, yet it lives on and on.

The average American cannot comprehend this. He knows that he himself has no sinister designs on Mexico; why should the Mexican suspect him? Those who know the history of Mexico understand things better. For since the days of Cortez and his Conquest four hundred years ago, the people of Mexico, like their lands, have suffered at the hand of foreigners. What to them have been forced acquisitions of special rights and privileges and embarrassing concessions claimed by foreign capital, has served to instil a fear if not a hate into their souls which cannot be easily eradicated. They feel the rope around their neck, and in the fear of strangulation, they fight for their lives and lands as the American Indians fought for theirs. And to the Mexican who still harbors this fear of the “Peril” the United States of America is the nearest, richest and most aggressive of these foreign exploiters. To him the Yankee is out for all he can get. Quoting the Monroe Doctrine in paternal tones, the Gringo appoints himself guardian of everyone south of the Border, and by guile, graft, or gun, keeps swearing and punching his way along until he gets what he wants — a clear road to the Canal.

Whether there be true ground for this “Yankee Peril” or not, the fear lingers within Mexico, and will continue

there until we can prove that the heart of America is sound for democracy and for the rights of small nations. That the average Mexican does not hate the American has been proved many times. That he still doubts us, however, that he cannot forget the Mexican war, and its spoliation program; and that he believes every effort is being made here by certain interests to embroil the two countries, primarily, for the foreigner's gain, cannot be gainsaid. The Mexican's "Yankee Peril" is still alive, ready for action as opportunity serves.

THE MISSIONARY PROGRAM

Can these, the problem and the peril, be eradicated? The missionary says "Yes," though much depends upon how we ourselves handle the situation. The missionary is optimistic. Just because the problem in the last analysis is a mental and moral one he knows that it can be solved. To most of the world this makes it an impossible task; to him, however, the victory is as certain as that God is God and love is love. So the missionary lays before the Christian churches of America a program the carrying out of which though it may take time and sacrifice will tend to draw all Mexicans unto America and all Americans unto Mexico. As his plan has generally succeeded wherever he has been free to work, we must give it our careful consideration. Four words suggest the program: UNDERSTAND, SYMPATHIZE, EXPECT, CO-OPERATE.

(A) UNDERSTAND

In the first place, we must understand the fundamental

causes of the Mexican Problem, and here we should realize at once the great difference in racial psychology between America and Mexico. Study the temperaments, the psychics of the so-called Latin-American race, get acquainted with the soul of the people below the border.

In our attitude toward Mexico we should realize that the race below the Border has remained Indian. Probably one-half of the population of 15 millions is still pure Indian. Probably, too, most of the Mestizo class, which



A TYPICAL SCENE AT A R. R. STATION IN MEXICO. THE MAN SELLING LUNCH AND THE BEGGAR CAN BE SEEN ANYWHERE IN MEXICO.

numbers some six or seven millions, is much more Indian than Spanish. Indeed, the pure Spanish class is numerically but a small proportion of the nation, though it has been a dominant element for centuries. Mexico therefore, racially considered, is essentially Indian. It is an indigenous race, one that has inherited the country from time immemorial. It still has its Indian traditions, its Indian temperament, its Indian ways of doing things and of looking at things.

Add to this the fact that this race has dwelt in a peculiar country, one that has been designed for the creation of certain temperamental effects. No race could live on the plateau of Mexico, for example, without becoming highly sensitive. The climate and topography of Mexico has undoubtedly had as much to do with creating the present-day Mexican race as the Indian blood itself.

This is assuming that our permanent problem has to do with the masses of Mexico. They are Indian, and they have been inhabitants of the heights and valleys, the plains and canyons of the land for hundreds of generations. When we think, however, of the training that Mexicans have received for the past few centuries, we enter the ranks of the Latins or those who through family, State and Church have been given the Latin civilization. Certainly no Anglo-Saxon friend of Mexico can fail to take into account this Latin type of teacher and teaching, the essentially paternal system inherited from Rome. This works from above down. Such a system has not laid emphasis upon democracy in the centuries past and indeed is more essentially autocratic than otherwise. Moreover it is a system that expects obedience and service, a studied dependence upon the powers that be. This Latin training of the Mexican has not tended toward creating in the ordinary individual a passion for self-government, a knowledge of the art of self-government, or any pronounced capacity for self-government. The few responsible for growth along these lines got their encouragement in the main from other sources.

Combining this Mexican temperament and Latin training,

a type is produced which tends always to emphasize certain traits that hinder the development of a stable self-government. There is, as Professor Shepherd of Columbia points out, an "egoism" which fosters intense partisanship, jealousy and distrust of potential rivalries; a seclusiveness that does not bring about co-operation easily between races or tribes or groups; a pride in destructive criticism rather than constructive co-operation. Another trait is "impulsiveness," expressing itself in a hyper-sensitiveness. Applying this to the arena of political discussion, one can see how rivals in a political gathering might easily warm toward each other personally in spirited attacks and how difficult a free and frank discussion of international affairs would be when the Mexican imagined he was being wronged by America Norté.

Secondly, in this effort to understand the Mexican, we must know his ethico-religious heritage. This has not been Anglo-Saxon; it has come down through the Roman form of Christianity. It is not our purpose here to attempt a criticism of the great Roman Catholic Church. Our own evangelical form of Christianity has too many weaknesses for us to attempt to thrive upon the failures of this other branch of the Christian Church. Certainly in the history of Mexico there are many stories of remarkable devotion and uplifting work of individual friars and priests. We need hardly more than point to the great edifices which loom as a monument not only to the architectural skill of loyal Christians but also to the lavish devotion of the people themselves to their Church. This building program never could have been brought about



THE CATHEDRAL AND PLAZA, HERMOSILLO, MEXICO

had there not been some basis for confidence in the character and lives of the Christian leaders. The Roman Church has affected irradicably the mentality and life of the Mexican people. The masses may have had their spirits broken by force, bribery, intrigue, diplomacy, treachery even, on the part of ecclesiastical representatives of Rome, but one thing is certain, they have inherited from the Roman Catholic Church a something that gives them a superstitious reverence for anything that reminds them of Christ and the saints.

At the same time, it has to be said that the most honest

leaders of the Roman Church are not at all proud of the results of their work in Mexico, and doubtless they would not wish to be held responsible for the superficial way in which the Church has imposed an ethical life upon the masses. Medieval the Church has been, and medieval it remains. As Dominick, Maximilian's Catholic chaplain, said during the French invasion of Mexico: "Mexican faith is dead faith. The worship of saints and madonnas so absorbs the devotion of the people that little time is left to think about God. It is vain to seek good fruit from the worthless tree which makes religion a singular assembly of heartless devotion, shameless ignorance, insane superstition and hideous vice. * * * One of the greatest evils in Mexico is the exorbitant fee for the marriage ceremony, and the priests compel the poor to live without marriage by demanding for the nuptial benediction a sum that a Mexican mechanic can scarcely accumulate in fifty years of the strictest economy."

Those in the Roman Church today who have the modern point of view and are eager to spiritualize the Catholic system feel a responsibility for the modernizing of the Church in Mexico and for the development of such a conception of duty to God and to man as will create a moral life such as Mexico has never yet known. Certainly with the remarkable hold of the Roman Church upon the minds of the masses, particularly the women, there is the greater burden laid upon them by God for the emancipation of the people of Mexico. Whether or not they have such an opportunity for service as they had before the revolution or whether they will ever have it

again depends upon their attitude toward the new national program of liberty.

We get a suggestion of what the revolutionists themselves feel concerning the Church's influence on the minds and life of Mexico from a statement recently made by a leader of the revolution, one, to be sure, who worked for radical, constitutional changes, more so than Carranza and others would have done,—words, however, that express essentially the point of view of the constitutionalists today. He says: "It is necessary to complete the holy and gigantic undertaking of our forefathers, the immense labor of freedom begun by Juarez. We are determined that the clergy will no longer be permitted to maintain the lower classes in ignorance and idolatry, nor to win over the children of the middle and upper classes in schools, colleges and seminaries, thus preparing generations of traitors, of enemies of liberty and progress, masses of slaves of dogma. They will not be permitted to exert their ministry unless they have previously married, this being the only means to prevent their being a constant and really formidable menace to the tranquility, harmony and peace of the home. They shall not be permitted to dominate the lower classes and destroy all moral ideas by means of the confessional which is nothing but a window open on every home and every conscience. They shall not be permitted to attack the institutions of the Republic. Finally, it will not longer be tolerated that within the national organization there exists another organization constituted of foreigners and depending upon the Roman Pontiff; for in the Republic, in order to practice as a

Catholic priest, it will be necessary to be of Mexican birth and to promise to comply strictly with the laws, besides possessing other requisites of construction and morality."

We get some idea of the ethical lack in the Church from the Constitution of 1857 which asked for the nationalization of property held by the clergy, the complete separation of Church and State, the freedom of religion and the freedom of the press. The association of Sisters of Charity was suppressed in the Republic at the time. Matrimony was to be a civil contract. Education in the public schools was to be free and compulsory, etc.

This popular movement in favor of reforms was fought obstinately and through a series of years by the clerical power, backed by all the power, spiritual and material, of the Church of Rome. Here are some of the laws which were called by the Pope odious and abominable: Laws establishing liberty for all opinions, liberty of the press and liberty of faith and worship; laws granting to the members of all denominations the right to establish schools and colleges; laws permitting civil marriages; laws establishing public schools for secular education that wish to be freed from the control of the Roman priesthood. The Pope, when denouncing these laws, said, "Let it be understood that the Roman Catholic Church declares such laws as these wherever they may be enacted to be null and void."

All this has had a deterrent effect upon the ethical development of the people of Mexico. Laying more emphasis on form and ceremony than on spiritual life has

tended to separate from the mind of the people the two forces that should be constantly combined, namely, loyalty to God and love for humanity. The Mexican people in religious training as in temperament have kept religion and social service in separate compartments, and this has undoubtedly accounted for a good deal of the condition today that makes it next to impossible to find men who are trained in character or in knowledge to serve other interests than their own and to do so for God and country.

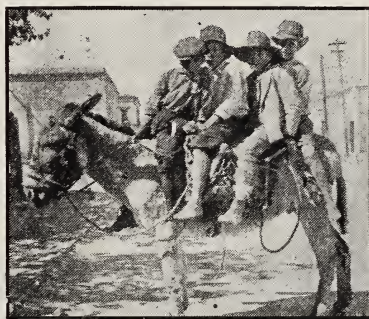
Thirdly, in this effort to get at fundamental causes, we should understand the sad history and traditions of the Mexican people. For twelve generations, up to one hundred years ago, when they secured their liberty, they were a "subject" race. Four hundred years ago, by right of conquest, strengthened by papal bulls, Cortez and the Conquerers took possession of the land and everything in it. The natives became slaves to the Spanish Crown. For centuries the indigenous Mexican was regarded by those of pure Spanish blood as a hopeless proposition, incapable of any development, and useless except as a mechanical unit. The wonder is that such a life did not stunt the Mexican's mental and moral growth more. Exploited, enslaved, despised by the master class for so long a time that docility and servility got into his very blood, the average Mexican today has a heritage that is anything but that of a victorious race. Not knowing anything about this through experience, we as a people can hardly put ourselves in the place of the average Mexican. Never-

theless, with imagination we can understand and make allowances.

(B) SYMPATHIZE

With understanding comes sympathy. This does not mean that we are to be in sympathy all the time with a Government which permits all sorts of injustice and whose Congress changes constitutions in violation of international agreements; nor are we called upon to sympathize with a Government which cannot prevent the loss of American lives, the seizure of American soldiers and consuls for ransom. Constantly must we insist upon the fulfillment of international obligations, even if it means for a time the withdrawal of recognition.

The missionary believes, however, that the Mexican people deserve a good deal of sympathy, even if they do not care for pity. Under similar circumstances, would not we ourselves do similar things? Take, for example, the Mexican's national ownership idea. From time immemorial they have seen their country's resources drawn



"WE ALL RIDE WHEN WE HAVE
THE PRICE."





by outsiders for the profit of other nations. Now they are in this struggle, out of which they intend to emerge masters of their own land and natural resources. In the minds of many Americans this may not warrant their depriving American and British interests of lands deeded to them under Diaz, years ago. At the same time we should sympathize with the desire and purpose of the Mexican people to own their own country and to use it for their own purposes rather than to have it controlled by outside interests. There is no real American who does not naturally side with a people determined to possess its own country. "Mexico for the Mexicans," in this sense is a slogan essentially sound.

Then taking another example, note the purpose of the Mexicans to give back to the masses the lands which have little by little fallen into the hands of the few. The people of Mexico have been systematically deprived of their family farms by the capitalistic classes in the Republic. This agrarian problem has been at the bottom of more revolutions than one, and will continue to be an acute factor in Mexico's problem until the people themselves secure an increasing number of individual holdings and are placed where they can develop their own vines and fig trees. As it was said a hundred years ago and more by a prominent Catholic Bishop, so it could be said during the golden age of Diaz: "The mass of inhabitants have been left practically with no property and the great majority are really homeless." As an example of this, the writer does not need to mention any more than the one fact that before the last revolution, ten years ago,

about 11,000 of what might be classed large properties were in existence as against 25,000 such properties when the first revolution took place, a hundred years ago. The famous example of this is the Terrazas Estate, which is mostly in Chihuahua. Before the revolution, this was said to contain an area almost twice as large as the State of Massachusetts. It was held by one family. Perhaps this may be an extreme illustration, but it suggests a reason why the American people should sympathize with any element of the Mexican people struggling for life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. Such sympathy has been behind the fourteen articles of our President, and has been an element in the idealism by which we entered the great war and fought it through to a finish. All America may not yet say with President Wilson, "We are much more interested in seeing people get their rights than in taking care of American investments abroad," but at heart Americans generally are quick to sympathize with peoples who would determine their own destinies. Justice, too, is a big word with us.

We must not expect that Mexico can work out her own salvation as readily and as quickly as we; nor must we assume that she has gotten as far along as we. Her Magna Charta dates back only one hundred years; ours goes back seven hundred years, and perhaps longer. This sympathy must include, therefore, a patience based upon a knowledge of the fact that besides being different from us in temperament and training, Mexico is also different in the degree of self-government to which she has attained. The people have not yet learned how to rule.

Her democracy is a recent growth, and until her industries are developed and industrialism joins with Christianity and other forces, her people will need our patient sympathy.

(C) EXPECT

Believe in the capacity of the Mexicans. Everybody has faith in the natural capacity of the land of Mexico; that is, the resources of the country. Probably there is no richer country for its size in all the world. It has been so rich that it has drawn foreign attention; so much so that before the present revolution alien investments reached the colossal sum of about \$2,000,000,000, gold. The mineral wealth of Mexico seems to be practically inexhaustible. Lead mines worked for hundreds of years yield more than ever, and new ones are being opened constantly. Silver is most abundant, Mexico supplying about a third of all produced in the world. Gold, copper, lead, and oil also—in two decades she has produced a billion dollars' worth of gold and silver, and her oil fields 8,000,000,000 barrels of oil a year, with the possibility of producing a billion barrels of oil every month. The natural fertility of the soil is immeasurable. An English statesman once said that the country whose wealth was in its soil was like a pyramid with a great base; that no matter how great the shock might be, the base would not be upset. Mexico's base is big. Perhaps her greatest wealth lies in wheat and corn rather than in oil, gold and silver; in hemp, timber, fruits, coffee, tobacco, sugar, chocolate, and a thousand and one products of the soil. Do we

know that her vast forests of pine and mahogany have sufficient timber to supply the whole continent; that with a climate which makes a harvest possible the year around, with rich soil and an abundance of streams, she has the means to produce sufficient crops to feed for generations many a nation besides herself? For her industries, too, she can have iron and coal, practically all that she needs. Then, too, a hundred streams tumbling down a mile and a half on their short way to the sea have potential power equal to half a dozen Niagaras. Mexico is rich, immensely rich. Her capacity as a land is almost beyond parallel.

But what we may believe of the natural capacity of the country of Mexico we are not so ready to believe of the people. The United States Immigration Commission recently made a report to the effect that Mexican immigrants were of a lower grade than those of Japan or China. This report states that "the Mexican immigrants engage practically in only unskilled work; that their wages in the railway work are the lowest paid; that very few become foremen; that their standard of living is the lowest; that they learn English slowly; that the attendance at school and the intelligence of the children are less than the average; and that, all things considered, they are less desirable as citizens than as laborers. Not a few of these immigrants are ardent in their admiration of our great country and our superior institutions, but generally speaking they are not understood, and they still remain in the mind of the average American as below the status of immigrants of other races."

Yet the Mexican has capacity. Take the pure Indian, himself, one who has lost initiative almost incredibly. You will find him responding to the right kind of treatment. He develops initiative; he shows intelligence, and on the whole is able to prove, give him time and training enough, that he is capable of evolving a character and life required for up-to-date enterprises. To be sure, he will not be as aggressive as the Anglo-Saxon, but he will be able to make his contribution to the uplift of the country.

The Meztizo, who has some European blood in him, while not possessing perhaps the natural moral capacity of the Indian, nevertheless shows a business aggressiveness for the modern day. He is more and more turning to the industrial problems, and as a laboring man will be heard from in Mexican life for years to come. He is the backbone of the revolutionary movement.

Then there are the distinguished men in Mexican history. Who can doubt the capacity of any race that can produce an Hidalgo, a Morelos, a Guerrero, and a Juarez. These names are well worthy of a place beside those of our own "Fathers." Victor Hugo once wrote to Juarez: "America has two heroes — Lincoln and thee; Lincoln, by whom slavery died; and thee by whom liberty has lived. Mexico has been saved by a principle, by a man. Thou art that man!" Juarez is known chiefly for having taken Mexico through that perilous period of intervention on the part of the French. One should study his reform laws and the reform constitution of 1857 to understand the capacity of that pure-blooded Indian, and of the many mestizos who followed him in that constitutional struggle

for the rights of the people of Mexico. One of our greatest statesmen once called that constitution the best that he had ever seen.

I wish that every reader could know personally some of the Protestant pastors in Mexico, particularly those with whom the American Board missionaries are associated. Merely watching them conduct themselves in a meeting with their American colleagues and in administering their churches and schools, not to speak of their home life, and other phases of their work, would convince any fair-minded American that Mexico is capable of producing today men of more than ordinary intelligence, men of balanced judgment, vigorous mentality, persistence in purpose, and a moral capacity required for the grave needs of the day.

It is true that as a self-governing race, Mexico is far behind what she ought to be, but let us believe that she is on the upward road. Take a simple little illustration. The writer well remembers watching a basket-ball game at Guadalajara, some months ago. He was accompanied by a former basket-ball player from Yale and a man from Harvard. Both these men spoke in highest terms of the skill of the Mexican players, and we all agreed that the young men kept their tempers and showed as much self-control in defeat as well as in victory as could be found in similar circles in the United States. They played together, too, with as much team consciousness as could be found almost anywhere. This showed at least some capacity for self-control and team-work — two very vital

essentials to the uplift of the Mexican people and the solution of the Mexican Problem.

After all, we must believe that some capacity resides in the Mexican because of the undoubted gain that has been made since the constitutionalists came into power. The political and social movement since the days of Diaz has been fundamentally a sound one. This statement can be maintained notwithstanding the many imperfections in government and the incomparable abuse of power by some civil and military authorities. The movement since Diaz' day has tended to free the common people from age-long tyranny and exploitation exerted through Church and State; and to awaken the common people to a consciousness of their rights and power. The leaders of Mexico have shown in the midst of most exasperating and discouraging circumstances considerable capacity. Why not give them due respect? They deserve as they need, the moral support of all lovers of liberty, enlightenment and social uplift. This support should persist in prolonged patience because it is based upon an inherent belief in the capacity of the Mexican.

The Gospels tell the story of a man who was found robbed and bleeding by the side of the rocky path descending from the plateau to the plains. The bandits had caught him, struck him, stripped him and left him for dead. Representatives of the church treated him as if he were dead. The good Samaritan, however, saw capacity for life in the man; and in that faith, as well as in hope and love, he leaped from his horse, stooped down, lifted up the bruised and bleeding form, carried him to an

inn, and there made provision for his natural health to assert itself once more and for his restoration to normal life. Mexico today may seem to us a dead proposition, but the people have great possibilities, and it is for us to believe this and to act upon the belief.

(D) CO-OPERATE

Finally, the Program calls for co-operation along lines acceptable to the Mexican people. This is not forceful co-operation. We might go to war with Mexico for the protection of American property and lives and for the upholding of the dignity of our nation, we could never assume that this armed intervention would be a welcome form of co-operation, but it would be done against the will of the Mexican people. If by going into Mexico with the slogan "Mexico for the Mexicans," America



MAZATLAN, WEST COAST, MEXICO

could loan her forces with the consent of the Mexicans, we would be infinitely better off than if we went to war to preserve our dignity or to settle Mexico until she could settle us. Under such a co-operative plan we would be invited to do a thorough job of it. The longer we remained with an altruistic motive the better would we be known and perhaps liked. We could remain until democracy and self-government got into the very blood of the masses, perhaps, and until the nation was full of Mexicans of intelligence and integrity, that is, our type of intelligence and integrity. Under such circumstances we would not be asked to leave as we practically were in the Philippines, nor would our term of occupancy or our opportunities of administration in Mexico be subject to the whims and follies of our party platforms at home. There would be no leaving when politics entered. We could make this task a civil service undertaking behind which each administration could throw the prestige and power of its position, outvying even its predecessor in largeness of plan and lavishness of expenditure.

But what a dream! What Mexican would suggest an American mandatory and what American would dare guarantee such perfectly sustained altruism. No, we must rather assume that if we enter Mexico by force to "clean her up" we shall intensify her suspicion of us and close her heart and that of Latin-America generally to our approaches. There is no better way of losing our leadership among the masses from the Border to the Straits than by armed intervention in Mexico.

This, therefore, precludes armed intervention. Mexi-

co's needs cannot be supplied by an American line of army trucks, nor her fundamental problems solved by American police sergeants — not even if we went in with the purest altruistic purpose possible. Even if we should so subjugate Mexico that she would be compelled in the most inaccessible mountain fastnesses and unto the utmost limits of the land to accept our system of government, industry, commerce and finance; even if we imposed our education upon the poorest peon for a generation or two—and nothing short of fifty years of forced occupancy could approach the requirements of such benevolent intervention—we would still be suffering the condemnation of all kulturites and still have the problem on our hands.

Cortez and his crew began it four hundred years ago. They made their conquest as thorough as we could make ours. They even had the mighty assistance of the Church which introduced great educational and economic improvements for a time, helped develop the vast mineral and agricultural resources of the land and to some extent purified the religious ideals of the masses. Matters went from bad to worse. The effect was rebellion against foreign exploitation and the temporary expulsion of the foreigners.

This was the result when America took a hand in the forties; we intervened by armed force when Texas and Tyler schemed. We won glory—and gold. We got California. We lost, however, what power of reform within Mexico we possessed in virtue of our own struggles against outside interference with our liberties. Mexico began to doubt us then and she is inclined to con-

tinue to do so. To be sure, we compelled the Mexican to respect the Texan ranger, and we saved enough good land from the hand of the "lazy peon" to sustain some of the finest Anglo-Saxon civilization America can ever boast of. The Mexicans, however, can never forget that we took all this away by force of arms; not even our small payment of money could ever serve to clear the air. Our armed intervention of 1848, rather than alleviating Mexico's real troubles, aggravated them; indeed, it has made it much harder for us to help Mexico at this juncture.

Some ten years later, England, France and Spain, because of certain losses in men and money, decided upon armed intervention in Mexico. The fleets appeared off the land; the ultimatum was delivered; the French army entered and took control. To cement the authority over a people too weak to rule themselves, a king was given, and he a foreigner. Every effort possible was made to reconcile the Mexicans to this system which was calculated to prove their ultimate salvation, but somehow the old resistance to foreign exploitation flared up once more. The different factions united against the foreigner and out the foreigner went. They even shot the emperor. Nationalism through this armed intervention of foreigners was revived and somehow the real problem was no nearer solution than before.

After that there came an intervention of another sort, an economic invasion largely from America. This, too, was "armed" in the sense that it compelled Mexico by conscience "to surrender outright great sources of natural wealth." Diaz, in other words, felt obliged to devote an exaggerated proportion of attention to making Mexico attractive to outside capital, but in doing this he failed to show attention to the real and abiding needs of the people. To be sure, his government was as avowedly

paternal as ours would be, yet becoming more and more personal and less paternal, it played into the hands of capital, foreign as well as domestic. The result was the usual one for Mexico; rebellion, revolution and another state of chaos crying out for some saner treatment than had thus far been tried.

The missionary believes in the following modes of co-operation .

1. Encourage the coming of Mexicans to America for study, and treat them well while here.

2. Encourage Americans to immigrate to Mexico and assume duties of citizenship there.

3. Encourage increase of American business houses in all parts of Mexico, manned by a high type of American gentlemen.

4. Encourage Americans of right sort to accept calls to professorship and important training positions under the Mexican government.

5. Co-operate with the government through missionary schools of all grades, from kindergarten, day grade schools, to Normal and graduate courses; also industrial and agricultural institutes.

6. Establish People's Institutes at every center of size which shall teach ideals of good government, encourage high standards of citizenship, and develop community spirit.

7. Spread broadcast good literature—the kind we enjoy at home.

8. Above all, help establish a strong evangelical church in Mexico.

Mexico needs a modernized religious faith and practice to meet the moral demands of its national movement. Never can she become self-governing until her knowledge

of God and His law of love is liberalized. She needs free access to the Gospel story of Jesus Christ; she needs to go direct to the Father; she must know what it means to yield to the spiritual impulse of service.

Mexico needs men of character:—

“Men with strong minds, great hearts, and willing hands;

Men whom the lust of office does not kill;

Men whom the spoils of office cannot buy;

Men who possess opinions and a will;

Men who have honor, men who will not lie,

Tall men, sun-crowned, who live above the fog

In public duty and in private thinking.”

And right here is where American Christianity can make itself felt, if the opinion of the missionary, based upon long experience, is to be taken on its face value.

The Indian and Mestizo can evolve a character which will endure the stress and strain of civic life; they can evolve an economic and financial system and a soundness of democracy, instinct and life, because under God they are capable of being created in the likeness and stature of Jesus Christ. The missionary never loses heart in the ultimate triumph of his cause. He sees into the distance the result of the activity of the spirit of God molding characters to meet the needs of each age.

Under the constitution no foreign church leader can serve as pastor of Mexican churches, but in a thousand and one ways a foreign Protestant missionary can speak for Christ, teach the truth of Christ, and seek to bring into the mind and life of every Mexican the spirit of Christ.

Thus we have our call to co-operate. A missionary leader has said: “If some thrifty individual who has been taught by our War Savings Stamp Campaign to count the pennies, thinks that this program involves too

much of a financial expenditure, let him meditate on the following: The United States Government spent enough on guarding the border and the Pershing expedition into Mexico, during the year of the Columbus raid, to build in every town in Mexico of more than 4,000 people, a college, a community center, a hospital, and a church, and to equip them magnificently, and there would be left over a sufficient amount to endow the public school system of each of these towns with some \$700,000. There would still be left a tidy little sum of \$15,000,000 for other parts of the program of education and the production of good literature.

CONCLUSION: USE THE AMERICAN BOARD

1. You believe in Christ's way of saving nations; adopt the missionary's program.

2. You believe that Christian missions have much to do with the rapprochement of nations; strengthen your own missionary agency.

3. You believe in the character-producing power of the Christian Church, school, press, agricultural plant, people's institute, and personality; pray for the success of the American Board work in Mexico.

4. You covet a means of getting at the heart of the Mexican Problem and of clearing away the fear of a Yankee Peril; support liberally your missionaries who at Hermosillo and El Fuerte in the north, at Mazatlan in the center of the west coast, and at Guadalajara and Mexico City on the plateau are giving themselves in love to the Mexican people.

Thank God, the American Board Field in Mexico presents an avenue of approach into the very heart and life of the land. God grant we may enter it as Americans should, in a big brotherly manner and with tremendous zeal.

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